/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

848 623 /178/ the cabildo until she names the father of her child. If he is an unmarried young man, he must marry the girl. A married man, however, is beaten by the cabildo. He does not need to make support payments. It is different if a married man has no 842 children. In this case the wife is regarded in principle as the one 848 at fault. He may then have a child by an unmarried girl without 837 being punished. He simply explains to the cabildo that he has a [623] great deal of property and that he therefore needs children whom he cannot have by his wife. To the mother of his natural child he gives a cow, clothing, and a pretty belt, and she then surrenders her child to the lawful wife of the father of her child. He may [554] do this several times until he has enough children. This is not permitted, however, for a poor man without possessions, it was explained to me, for "why does he need children?"

844 841 [343] At the time of menstruation and also at the birth of a child the woman stays in a special small hut (dúyat). She receives her food either from her mother, sister, or a neighbor woman from a house in which several women live. This woman at the same time cooks for the members of the family of the menstruating woman. The members of the family of the woman who is temporarily cooking receive their meals from another female member of her family. The woman who takes care of the food also fetches the wood for the fire necessary for warmth in the dúyat. Female inhabitants of farms or of field huts used for only a few months, which have no [758] dúyat, go to a neighboring or related family for this period. In [602] case the housewife becomes ill, she moves into the house of one of her sisters or female relatives, where she is nursed. The male relatives of the sick woman must then likewise go to the house of this relative to eat.

614 Besides the patrilineal nuclear families, no recognized patrilineal kin-groups /Sippen/ are known among the Paez, but all who bear the same family name feel related and may not marry, even though they are not knowingly -- this knowledge goes back only two generations -- related. Our interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuẽ, for example, may not only not marry any girls with the patronymic Piñakuẽ, but also no girls whose mothers are named Piñakuẽ. Conditions are particularly difficult among the

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844 until very late and only with great difficulty. The proper depth is supposed to be about 30 centimeters.

846 851 608 [797] [551] Four to six days after birth and after the first bath, the father or one of the godparents brings the child to the sacristan of the village or /186/ to the women missionaries, in order to have it christened with water and given the name of the Christian saint of the christening day. Every child has only one given name and the Paez surname of its father. The baptism by the priest with oil takes place later on a suitable occasion, in the presence of the godparents, and is followed by an eating and drinking bout. The mother also takes part in this, after she has left the dûyat and has washed herself, her child, and her clothes and has been purified by the shaman.

[783] [756]

861 The rearing of the children is in the hands of the parents, who teach them the necessary accomplishments of life quite as a matter of course and almost in play. Disobedient children are also beaten, however, and, to be sure, usually if the son has no real desire to help his father with the field work. In punishing, the fathers are generally stricter than the mothers and on occasion beat them with leather straps all over their bodies. The boxing of ears is also to be seen. If a young man proves to be lazy in later life, the father is blamed because he did not properly admonish his son to work. Illegitimate sons, who lack the strict hand of a father, are said to turn out badly in many cases, though as such they are very popular. Since they do not know their father, they are not obliged to work in his field. They are all the more in demand as helpers in the fields of other families. When they are older, they may borrow land and establish a family. Usually they even receive the land as a present. Thus, they need not starve by any means. Illegitimate daughters are in a more unfavorable position, for their help is not needed for the most part, and their mother does not have a household of her own. Nevertheless their marriage prospects are not unfavorable, since a girl does not have a dowry, but is married only on the basis of her personal qualities.

[461] 848 [426] [431] 848 562 [583] [581]

/192 cont./

581 462 513 around the hearth fire, and this must be stirred and provided with wood every two hours. This is the task of the wife, who, therefore, sleeps next to the fire. Throughout practically her whole life, she is never able to sleep all through the night.

583 If during the trial year the bride does not meet the demands of the man, if she either cannot cook or is lazy or /193/ does not like to get up in the morning, he sends her back to her father. Since no wedding celebration has taken place, sending back the girl leads to no resentment of any kind. It does, however, if children have resulted from the trial marriage and the young man [684] [623] nevertheless changes his mind. In this case, to be sure, nothing can be changed with regard to his decision -- after all, he has not yet been officially married -- but, since such an action is condemned, he is beaten by the cabildo. He may then begin a 583 new trial marriage with another girl. The children of the previ- 848 ous trial marriage (they are designated by the Paez with the [557] Spanish term hijo natural) are given the name of the mother. There are not a few such "natural children." The mothers, however, are not scorned or judged harshly on that account and do not by any means have poorer prospects for a subsequent marriage. The children are not adopted in case of a subsequent marriage by the [761] [851] mother and keep their mother's name. It is believed, however, that such "natural children" will soon die. They are not baptized, since the priest baptizes only legitimate children, or else demands such a large sum for the baptism of an illegitimate child that the unmarried mother cannot raise it.

585 [178] The actual wedding celebration takes place after the period of the trial marriage. Today the prior marriage service by the Catholic priest in the church is usually combined with this wedding celebration. The money for this, as for the expenses of the wedding celebration, must be raised by the young man himself. [435] This takes him many months. First of all, besides the cost of ten pesos for the marriage service, he must have collected the money for an ox, then prepare chicha in sufficient quantities, for which sugar cane is milled for about a month, and also provide for the rest of the food. In general his father or brothers do not

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585 those of my husband, and you are not to say bad words either to your husband or to us!

The wedding celebration is as brilliant as possible, which means entertaining the guests lavishly as long as possible. In some families the celebration goes on for more than a week. [535] [177] There is no dancing in Calderas, but in other Paez villages Colombian folk dances, usually the open bambuco, are danced.

586 A dissolution of the marriage through divorce is said not to occur even among the non-Christian Paez. Also there is no separation of married people, since man and wife are dependent on each [837] other for economic reasons. Yet it not infrequently happens -- [848] as reported above -- that married men have children outside their marriage with other unmarried girls.

587 In case of the death of one partner, the surviving spouse may remarry. But whereas for the first marriage he merely could not marry a partner of the same name, in the second marriage he also may not marry a partner bearing the name of the deceased. Thus, for example, Juán Piñakué, who in his first marriage was wed to Ascensiona Kiskué, may not marry a Kiskué a second time.

589 /195/ Widowers continue to live in their houses and, if the 591 children are not yet grown, usually marry a second time; other- [587] wise they live in the house of one of their grown sons. Widows, if they are older, usually do not marry again. With their children they go back to where they came from, namely, the house of their parents. If the latter are no longer living, they have the right, for the time being, to live in the house of whichever brother happens to be living at the time in the house of the deceased father. If the house is no longer standing, the widow lives with one of her brothers or with other relatives. In any case, she cannot, as a woman, live alone in a house, but always only in one belonging to a man.

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623 no other solution, I had to marry, "reflected the informant," for
736 such was the law. The cabildo finds husbands for female orphans
562 (guaiches). Any youth could ask the cabildo for an orphan for a
583 wife and it would give her."

The husband may punish his wife. We were able to ob-
593 serve the case of a native Calderuno who with tears in his eyes
[586] asked for the help of the priest to get back his wife who had abandoned him because he had given her some blows with the flat of a machete, injuring her. The complaining husband explained that the maltreatment given to his wife had not been of any importance, and, anyway, she had cost him twelve pesos, meaning by this the amount paid to the priest to celebrate the
593 nuptials. They punish the wife when on returning from work
684 they find her drunk and without food prepared for eating. Likewise they whip her or cuff her in cases of infidelity. Absolute
[837] fidelity is demanded from both spouses, and transgressions from this standard seem to be infrequent.

593 Such cases as present themselves are settled by the cabildo,
623 as we were able to observe in Mosoco, where a husband, through
684 the suggestion of his own mother, accused his wife of infidelity.
692 The cabildo /186/ in session went to the house of the plaintiff to establish responsibility in the presence of the interested parties. According to an informant from Calderas, when a married man has a child by an unmarried girl, his wife complains before the cabildo. If it finds the girl guilty, it punishes her with lashes and authorizes the complainant to cut the hair of her rival.
[848] The child born in this way, said the informant, dies of the plague.
[753] Cases of infidelity on the part of the husband a number of times arouse violent reactions on the part of the wife, up to the point of liquidating her rival in a barbarous and merciless manner, as occurred in San Andrés where out of jealousy a woman practically quartered the body of the other woman, and whose penal judgment was given in the city of Popayán not many months ago.